National Network For Safe Communities

Saving Lives, Saving Communities

Managing the Group Violence Intervention

Using Shooting Scorecards to Track Group Violence

by Anthony A. Braga, David M. Hureau, and Leigh S. Grossman

COPS

Community Oriented Policing Services
U.S. Department of Justice

Managing the Group Violence Intervention

Using Shooting Scorecards
to Track Group Violence

Contents

Letter from the Director

Dear colleagues,

If you live in a community where you've been hearing gunshots every day, at some point you might stop calling the police because you think that nothing changes and that the sound of gunshots, unfortunately, is just a part of life. But no one should live like that.

When I was the chief of police in East Palo Alto, California, the city's 2010 violent crime rate was nearly 80 percent higher than that of the entire state, and there was a large disparity between the number of shooting incidents and actual calls to police. To address this, our police department used data to identify the areas with the most shootings. Then we chose two sites to pilot a project using a public health approach. I worked with my officers and community members to reclaim their public spaces.

Group shooting scorecards are a systematic means of identifying the criminal groups that commit the highest number shootings and experience the greatest number of shooting victimizations during a specific time period. Developed to support focused deterrence strategies, shooting scorecards help ensure that law enforcement agencies focus scarce resources on the groups that consistently generate the most gun violence. To be more specific, these scorecards help agencies to consider the most violent groups for focused interventions by a partnership of community members, law enforcement, and social service providers.

This publication provides an overview of shooting scorecards, its links to problem analysis and performance measurement systems in police departments, the importance of data quality, and the key steps in using the scorecards.

Furthermore, this publication is part of an ongoing series by the National Network for Safe Communities about its two core crime reduction strategies: the Group Violence Intervention and the Drug Market Intervention. We at the COPS Office hope this series assists you in implementing these strategies, which help communities to view law enforcement as a trusted partner in identifying and addressing the most violent groups to create safer communities.

Sincerely,

Ronald L. Davis, Director
Office of Community Oriented Policing Services

Acknowledgments

About This Series

The National Network for Safe Communities has assembled guides to support communities implementing two crime control strategies: the Group Violence Intervention (GVI) and the Drug Market Intervention (DMI). GVI reduces violent crime when community members join together with law enforcement and social service providers to deliver an anti-violence message to highly active street groups. DMI eliminates overt drug markets by bringing together community leaders, law enforcement, and service providers with street-level dealers and their families to make it clear that the dealing must stop.

The particulars of the strategies are adaptable. The National Network recommends that practitioners use these guides to ensure that all the elements are in place, tailoring their execution to the local resources and personnel available.

Both strategies combine the best of law enforcement and community-driven approaches to improve public safety, minimize arrests and incarceration, and foster police-community reconciliation. The purpose of these guides is to offer comprehensive tools to practitioners - whether they are community members, law enforcement, or government officials - who seek to bring the strategies to their communities, build a partnership of stakeholders, operationalize the strategies, and sustain their results.

Each guide lays out the important elements of a strategy and recommends a general path along which communities should proceed. However, the particulars of the strategies are adaptable. The National Network recommends that practitioners use these guides to ensure that all the elements are in place, tailoring their execution to the local resources and personnel available. If communities stay close to the spirit of these approaches and remain faithful to the fundamental principles, they will see dramatic improvements.

Introduction

Much of the devastating toll of urban gun violence can be linked to dynamics and situations generated by a small number of high-rate offenders committing shootings at specific places and times. For instance, less than five percent of Boston's street corners and block faces generated 74 percent of fatal and nonfatal shootings between 1980 and 2008, with the most-active 65 locations experiencing more than 1,000 shootings during this time period (Braga et al. 2010). The bulk of Boston shootings take place immediately after school dismissal and during the weekend evening hours and tend to increase during summer months (Braga 2004). In 2006, roughly one percent of Boston youth between the ages of 15 and 24 participated in gangs, but these gang dynamics generated more than half of all homicides, and gang members were involved in roughly 70 percent of fatal and nonfatal shootings as either a perpetrator and/or a victim (Braga et al. 2008).

Police departments have become generally well positioned to analyze and respond to high-risk places during the times these locations are most criminally active. Computerized crime mapping technology to identify and analyze crime hot spots has proliferated across U.S. police departments (Weisburd and Lum 2005). Many police departments use management accountability processes, such as Compstat, to ensure that police resources are appropriately focused on these high-activity crime places (Weisburd et al. 2003).

Unfortunately, there is far less experience developing and maintaining analytical tools integrated into police management accountability systems to ensure that police identify and address the most violent gangs and criminally active groups. The use of shooting scorecards provides a mechanism to analyze gun violence problems and ensure police appropriately focus resources on the risky groups that underpin much serious gun violence. More important, shooting scorecards can help ensure that practitioners properly implement and integrate innovative group violence interventions, such as focused deterrence programs (Kennedy 2011), into police department operations. In particular, shooting scorecards are useful in supporting the National Network for Safe Communities' Group Violence Intervention, a focused deterrence approach to reducing serious violence that "relies on direct communication with violent groups by a partnership of law enforcement, social service providers, and community figures" (see NNSC 2013).

It is important to note at the outset that violence problems are concentrated among groups of chronic offenders who are often, but not always, gang-involved (Braga et al. 2002). Other criminally active groups, such as drug-selling organizations and street robbery crews, may also account for noteworthy shares of gun violence in particular jurisdictions. Determining whether a particular violent group fits some general definition of a "gang" can be complex. Research suggests that the character of gangs and other criminally active groups can vary considerably within and across cities (see Curry et al. 1994). Developing appropriate definitions for gangs, their nature, and behavior remain central questions for communities, police, and scholars.

However, resolving the gang question is not the central concern when designing and managing a Group Violence Intervention. Understanding and modifying the violent behaviors of criminally active groups, whether or not the groups are gangs, is the central concern. As such, shooting scorecards should be customized to local group characteristics and remain flexible enough to track the shooting behaviors of a wide range of criminally active groups.

What is a Shooting Scorecard?

In their most basic form, shooting scorecards create rank-ordered frequencies of the criminal groups that commit the highest number of shootings and experience the greatest number of shooting victimizations during a specific time period. These rankings are similar to scorecards used in many sporting events. For instance, in a candlepin bowling tournament, 30 players may complete for first, second, and third prizes. After completing 10 frames of bowling, players are ranked according to the number of points accrued, and those with the top three scores receive prizes. For shooting scorecards, law enforcement sums the shootings committed by and against specific groups over the course of days, weeks, months, quarters, or some other sensible period.[1] Law enforcement identifies the most violent groups, and rather than win anything, these groups receive systematic consideration for focused interventions, such as the National Network for Safe Communities' Group Violence Intervention, in which a partnership of community members, law enforcement, and social service providers delivers a "no violence" message, information about legal consequences for further violence, and an offer of help.

The systematic steps involved in shooting scorecard data collection processes also ensure that police departments are maintaining accurate and timely information on the nature of gun violence problems in their jurisdictions. Police departments often invest their resources in the careful documentation of individuals who comprise street gangs through gang member databases (Katz et al. 2000). Police departments should make these same investments in acquiring police officer knowledge on the circumstances of shootings, ensuring that they are interpreting this information correctly, entering these insights into a shooting database, and analyzing these data. Armed with the appropriate data and analytical products, police departments can more easily understand the share of gun violence generated by ongoing disputes between rival gangs, internal gang conflicts, drug market violence, personal disputes, robberies, and other street dynamics. Police departments can then track and monitor gun violence trends at the group level over time.

The development of gang scorecards can be viewed as a key element of the problem analysis phase in the problem-oriented policing process (Goldstein 1990; Braga 2008). Focused deterrence strategies, such as the Group Violence Intervention (see NNSC

---

1. It is important to note here that longer time frames are preferable, as short periods, such as days, may not provide enough time to collect reliable data on the nature of particular shooting events.

2013), are rooted in the problem-oriented policing framework (Kennedy et al. 1996; Braga et al. 2001) and represent a well-developed and evaluated school of approaches to recurring crime problems (Braga and Weisburd 2012).

However, local variations matter in crafting these interventions. Problem analysis facilitates understanding of local criminally active groups and their associated violence dynamics so law enforcement representatives and researchers can logically link responses to the nature of the problem. As Scott Decker (2003) suggests, one of the crucial factors in responding to gangs and other violent groups is how those responding understand the problem these groups present. Determining the most violent groups in a particular jurisdiction and understanding the nature of their violent conflicts are important steps in developing an appropriate Group Violence Intervention.

The uses of shooting scorecards are also consistent with the police performance management ideals of Compstat (Heinrich and Braga 2010). While it has many features, Compstat can be generally viewed as a combined technical and managerial system that embeds the technical system for the collection and distribution of police performance data in a broader managerial system (Silverman 1999; McDonald 2002). This system is designed to focus the organization on specific objectives, usually involving crime reduction, by holding a subset of managers accountable for using organizational resources appropriately in pursuit of these objectives (Moore 2003; Moore and Braga 2003).

Shooting scorecards can be incorporated into Compstat-like processes to ensure that police departments appropriately focus scarce resources on the groups that consistently generate the most gun violence. Departments can hold police managers who are responsible for group violence prevention accountable for generating the desired violence reduction impacts. These departments can reassess ineffective responses and launch more appropriate interventions. They can also note successful responses and contribute to a body of knowledge on effective Group Violence Interventions.

A growing body of evaluation evidence suggests that "pulling levers" focused deterrence strategies generate significant reduction in targeted crime problems, such as gang violence (Braga and Weisburd 2012). Focused deterrence strategies honor core deterrence ideas, such as increasing risks faced by offenders, while finding new and creative ways of deploying traditional and nontraditional law enforcement tools to do so, such as communicating incentives and disincentives directly to targeted offenders (Kennedy 2008).

Unfortunately, research also suggests that focused deterrence strategies can be difficult to implement and sustain over extended periods (Braga 2012; Kennedy 2011). Shooting scorecards help avoid this problem, especially when supported by a management accountability system, by helping to ensure that the groups most active in gun violence, and the groups that offend after law enforcement has delivered the deterrence message during a Group Violence Intervention, receive the enforcement attention they merit. Scorecards keep the operational partners focused on risky groups over time and maintain the implementation of the strategy as a whole.

Key Steps and Data Quality Issues

The proper implementation of shooting scorecards involves the adoption of a routine series of steps that structure the ongoing data collection process. Shooting scorecard data combines standard crime incident information maintained in official police databases with qualitative insights held by practitioners who are local experts on the people, dynamics, and situations that generate violent gun events. This section describes key steps in the data collection process and presents some of the strengths and limits of the various data sources that comprise shooting scorecards.

1. Collect and maintain base database on fatal and nonfatal shooting incidents

Official police incident data on fatal and nonfatal shootings (i.e., gun homicides and gun assaults with nonfatal injuries to the victims) form the base information to create shooting scorecards. Shooting incidents can obviously have multiple victims and offenders. Shooting scorecard databases should be designed to account for multiple individuals involved in specific incidents.

Furthermore, this database should always include the date, time, and location of shooting victimizations as well as the name, age, sex, and race of the victim. When known, information on the firearm used (type, caliber, make, and model) and the name, age, sex, and race of arrested suspects should also be included. The database can be further customized through the inclusion of additional information, such as the location and number of wounds. This database should be updated in real time, adding new information as it becomes available.

It is well known that police incident data, such as the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Uniform Crime Reports, have shortcomings. For instance, crime incident data are biased because of the absence of crimes not reported by citizens to the police and because of the decisions of police not to record all crimes reported by citizens (see Black 1970).

Although incident reports have flaws, careful analyses of these data can yield useful insights on crime (Schneider and Wiersema 1990). Moreover, police widely use official incident data for assessing trends and patterns of gun crime (Blumstein 1995; Cook and Laub 2002) and for evaluating gun violence reduction programs (see Sherman and Rogan 1995; McGarrell et al. 2001; Cohen and Ludwig 2003). Because the commission of

homicide generates a cadaver, homicide incident reports, involving guns or other means, are generally the most reliable and valid data collected on crime. Similarly, nonfatal gun assault incidents that involve injuries are more likely to come to the attention of the police via responses to emergency calls for service or reports of gun injuries from hospitals. Recent advances in acoustic gunshot monitoring systems, such as Shotspotter technology, also increase the likelihood that the police detect fatal and nonfatal shootings.

The inclusion of nonfatal shooting incident data has the significant advantage of allowing police departments to monitor and analyze a wider range of group-involved gun violence, and this analysis can yield important insights into homicides and their prevention. More important, the difference between a gun homicide and a nonfatal shooting event, as a Boston Police Department officer once described, "is often only a matter of inches and luck—a lot of times a nonfatal shooting is just a failed homicide" (Braga et al. 2013). The officer's sentiment suggests that whether or not an event becomes lethal is contingent on several uncontrollable factors—the aim of the shooter, the distance to the target, a rapid call to the police, the response time of medical assistance, and so on.

In fact, Zimring's (1968, 1972) studies of wounds inflicted in gun and knife assaults demonstrate considerable overlap between fatal and nonfatal attacks and suggest that the difference between life and death is just a matter of chance. The consideration of nonfatal shooting data helps to ensure that groups are being assessed based on the risk they pose to neighborhoods rather than the randomness of lethal wounds or the impressions of officers.

2. Add supplemental information on known criminal groups from other databases

Many urban police departments maintain intelligence databases on gangs and gang members in their jurisdictions. Some police departments also track other types of criminally active groups. After shootings occur and the department enters the basic characteristics of the event into the shooting database, department personnel should consult official gang and other group-oriented data systems to assemble all available information on the participants. Matching the names and dates of birth of shooting victims and (if known) suspects can provide a quick assessment of the criminally active group involved in particular incidents. If the police department tracks gang turf and drug market boundaries, the department should map the location of the shooting to determine whether it occurred in or adjacent to particular gang and/or drug selling crew turfs.

It is important to note here that these databases will be helpful in determining gang and criminal group-involvement in shooting incidents but are limited in determining the motives of events (i.e., *how* and *why* the shooting happened). Additional data collection, described in Step 3, will be necessary to gain further insights on the circumstances of events. It is also relevant to note that law enforcement agencies in different cities use different definitions for gang-related crime. For example, Maxson and Klein (1990) noted that Los Angeles police defined crime as gang-related when gang members participate, regardless of motive. Chicago police used a more restrictive definition and classify homicides as gang-related only if a gang motive is evident.

The work of the shooting scorecard approach is rooted in the idea that "involvement" matters as much as "motive." Criminally active groups should be held accountable for their overall gun violence behaviors whether generated by group-related motives (such as a gang defending its turf from a rival gang or a drug crew using violence to regulate sales and purchases) or nongroup-related motives (such as an individual gang member shooting a noncompliant robbery victim or a drug dealer shooting an individual during a sudden personal dispute). To fully understand the nature of gang violence in a particular jurisdiction, it is important to capture both the involvement of gang members in shootings and the motives, gang-related or otherwise, that generated the violent event.

Challenging the notion that official police gang data are mired with biases and measurement errors, a recent study by Decker and Pyrooz (2010) found that police reports of gang homicide in large U.S. cities (1) exhibited strong internal reliability, (2) were consistent with the principles of convergent-discriminant validity tests, and (3) demonstrated considerable external validity. Furthermore, the validity of police-reported gang measures was higher in cities that had specialized policing units directed toward gang problems (see also Katz, Webb, and Schaefer 2000). In summary, although police-reported data on gangs are not perfect, prior research has found such data to be valid and reliable indicators of gang activity and violence.

3. Hold routine incident review sessions to collect detailed data on shooting motives

The central data collection activity is known as the "systematic shooting review" process and represents a specific application of the crime incident review qualitative data collection methodology. Recurring reviews of shootings supply the detailed information

on the individuals involved in the incident, the motives that generated gunfire, and the dynamics that preceded the violent event.

A working group of knowledgeable practitioners assembles to review retrospectively all shooting incidents that occurred during a particular time period (e.g., a week, month, or quarter-year). The working group typically includes representatives from across the criminal justice system—including law enforcement, prosecutors, probation and parole officers, and often others—and researchers (Klofas and Hipple 2006). Together these practitioners review available official data on each shooting, including date, time, location, and individuals involved. A convener, usually a mid-level police manager, then asks the group whether anyone knows the participants and what happened in a particular shooting incident. Participants share their knowledge, and discussion ensues. Researchers and police use the shooting database to record the best available knowledge of the circumstances of the shooting event. For gang- and group-involved shootings, they also record the affiliations of the victims and suspects (even if no arrest had been made).

It is important to note here that shooting reviews are not venues where the working group updates the statuses of investigations and plans further investigative actions. Rather, shooting reviews serve as an opportunity to discuss fatal and nonfatal shooting incidents to understand how these events fit in a larger pattern of citywide violence. Crime incident reviews are rooted in the idea that some of the richest information for describing public safety problems and driving problem-solving efforts is not available from any official data systems.

As Kennedy and colleagues (1997, 226) suggest, the "experiential assets" of practitioners and community members can make potentially powerful contributions to identifying and understanding crime problems. Research suggests that practitioners, particularly police officers, develop rich pictures of their working environment and can provide accurate and valid assessments of high-crime places, chronic offenders, and repeat victims (Bittner 1970; Braga et al. 1994). Qualitative methods such as ethnography, interviews, and focus groups can supply this valuable information.

Crime incident reviews provide a method for sharing detailed information on specific types of crime, usually homicide, in the local criminal justice system and using that information to develop strategic approaches to reduce that crime (Klofas and Hipple 2006). These reviews are usually structured as focus group sessions and rely on input from front-line staff with discussions on street-level knowledge of the crimes. The

researchers within the working group record the qualitative insights on the events and their participants, analyze these data, and identify patterns or other issues that may be useful in responding strategically to the crime problem.

Examples include the Boston Gun Project problem analysis and the resulting Operation Ceasefire strategy, both of which used the crime incident review methodology to move the problem-solving process forward in a direction not possible by simply analyzing official crime data (Kennedy et al. 1997). Analysis of FBI Supplementary Homicide Report data, which are notoriously limited in the report's documentation of the circumstances of homicide incidents and the relationships among victims and offenders, suggested that Boston youth homicide in the 1990s was largely being committed by strangers against strangers for unknown reasons (Braga et al. 1999). Obviously, this picture of youth homicide did not lend itself to the development of strategic interventions. However, the crime incident review process revealed that Boston youth homicide was largely driven by retaliatory gang violence; this key insight helped to frame additional data collection efforts to better understand the nature of gang violence in Boston (Braga et al. 1999).

4. Conduct simple statistical analyses of shooting data to rank gangs

The final step in developing a gang shooting scorecard involves simple statistical analyses of the collected data. The police department and researchers can maintain the shooting database as an MS Excel spreadsheet, MS Access data file, or some other data format. Simple frequency counts of key variables can rank gangs in order of the most prolific shooter gangs, most victimized gangs, and the most active in gang-on-gang feuds. Frequency tables can also record other variables, such as shooting circumstances and types of relationships between victims and offenders.

The Boston Experience

The Boston Police Department (BPD) first developed and implemented the shooting scorecard process to understand the contribution of specific gangs to citywide shootings during resurgence of gang violence in the mid-2000s. The BPD soon recognized the value of these data in supporting management decisions on allocating scarce resources to address the most violent gangs and in measuring the impact of implemented violence interventions on targeted gangs. This section details the Boston experience with shooting scorecards and provides an illustration of the value of shooting scorecard data in managing group violence intervention strategies.

Persistent gun violence problems as a catalyst for developing shooting scorecards

Like many cities, Boston experienced a serious gun violence epidemic over the course of the late 1980s and early 1990s. Ongoing conflicts among street gangs were responsible for most of the gun violence during this period (Braga 2003; Kennedy et al. 1997). However, during the mid- to late-1990s, gun homicide suddenly plummeted.

Implemented in 1996, the Operation Ceasefire group violence intervention played a central role in Boston's gun violence decline (Kennedy et al. 1996). The focused deterrence strategy behind Operation Ceasefire (the template for the National Network's Group Violence Intervention) required that both law enforcement and community figures engage directly with gangs to (1) communicate explicitly that both would no longer tolerate violence, (2) offer outreach and social services to gang members, and (3) back up the "no violence" message by "pulling every lever" legally available when violence occurred (Kennedy 1997, 2011). A U.S. National Institute of Justice-sponsored evaluation found that Ceasefire was associated with a 63 percent reduction in the number of youth homicides and with noteworthy reductions in other indicators of nonfatal serious gun violence in Boston during the 1990s (Braga et al. 2001).

The Ceasefire strategy remained the City of Boston's primary response to outbreaks of gang violence until January 2000, when changes in leadership caused the strategy's discontinuation (see Braga and Winship 2006). After a few years of relatively low levels of serious gun violence, yearly counts of gun homicides and nonfatal shootings more than doubled from 177 victims in 2004 to 377 victims in 2006. A resurgence of gang violence drove the bulk of this increase (Braga et al. 2008).

At the beginning of December 2006, Mayor Thomas M. Menino swore in Edward F. Davis III as the new commissioner of the BPD and immediately charged Davis with reducing gun violence in the city. Reflecting on Boston's previous success and drawing on his past experience with a pulling levers strategy to control gang violence in Lowell (Braga, Pierce, et al. 2008), Davis announced that Operation Ceasefire would once again be the BPD's main response to outbreaks of serious gang violence and charged his command staff with implementing the strategy.

During the 1990s, the BPD charged the Youth Violence Strike Force (YVSF, informally known as the Gang Unit) almost exclusively with managing the Ceasefire intervention and, as needed, called upon other patrol and investigative resources to support the strategy. Unlike its predecessor, the post-2007 version of Operation Ceasefire was institutionalized within the BPD by directly engaging larger portion of the department through the citywide Compstat process and monthly district-level working groups known as "Impact Meetings." While the YVSF remained the key operational unit, BPD also held other specialized units accountable for implementing Ceasefire actions, such as the Drug Control Unit and Special Investigations Unit, and patrol and detective resources from police districts serving high-gun-violence neighborhoods.

The Boston Regional Intelligence Center (BRIC) supported the implementation of Ceasefire by developing a more refined understanding of ongoing gang violence problems in Boston, ensuring that scarce enforcement resources were centered on the most violent gangs, and measuring the performance of implemented interventions in reducing gun violence by particular gangs. BRIC crime analysts and detectives worked with Harvard University researchers to develop a systematic review process to collect detailed information on fatal and nonfatal shootings. This process initially started in late-2006 as a retrospective review of 2006 shooting incidents. The BPD command staff immediately recognized the value of the enhanced shooting data in supporting their decision making. BRIC then adopted shooting reviews as part of its routine crime data and intelligence gathering and analysis process. This established the ongoing use of shooting scorecards in Boston. Shooting scorecards are included in bi-weekly Compstat sessions and Ceasefire working group meetings.

Gangs and gang violence in Boston

As described in the introduction, shooting scorecards account for the shooting behaviors of groups in particular jurisdictions. The criminally active groups responsible for shootings will vary within and across cities; thus, scorecard processes should be tailored to local conditions. Given the central role of street gangs in Boston gun violence, BPD tailored their shooting scorecards to track the gun violence behaviors of particular gangs.

Overall, Boston gangs tend to be smaller in size, without formal organization, and limited in age structure; have a shorter organizational lifespan; and are only peripherally involved in group-level drug dealing. In these regards, Boston gangs tend to more closely resemble the typical U.S. street gang. In practice, Boston criminal justice practitioners use an informal definition of a gang, summarized by Kennedy and colleagues (1997, 232) as "a self-identified group of youth who act corporately (at least sometimes) and violently (at least sometimes)." The BPD uses an official scoring system to identify and track gang members in their gang database via point allocation criteria for different gang membership indicators.[2]

The BPD considers shootings as motivated by gang activity if (1) the offender or the victim (but not necessarily both) was a gang member and (2) the motivation behind the violent event was known or believed to be connected to gang activity (Kennedy et al. 1997). Thus, a gang member killing or assaulting another gang member in a dispute over contested turf was considered gang related. Likewise, a gang member killing or assaulting a nongang innocent bystander during the same dispute was also considered gang related. However, a nongang member killing or assaulting a gang member during a robbery attempt or a domestic dispute was not considered gang related. For BPD shooting

---

2. To be classified as a gang member, a person has to accumulate 10 points based upon the following criteria: prior validation by a BRIC-affiliated criminal justice agency that uses the same selection criteria (9 points), prior validation by a non-BRIC-affiliated criminal justice agency that uses similar selection criteria (8 points), self-admitted gang membership (8 points), use and/or possession of gang paraphernalia or identifiers (4 points), gang-related photograph (2 points), known gang tattoo or marking (8 points), information from reliable confidential informant (5 points), information from anonymous source or tipster (1 point), crime victim associated with rival gang (3 or 8 points depending on incarceration status), possession of gang documents such as by-laws (3 or 8 points depending on incarceration status), possession of gang publications (2 points), participation in gang publication (8 points), possession of court and/or investigative documents involving an identified gang member (9 points), possession of printed or electronic media indicating membership (1 point), contact with known gang members via Field Interrogation Observation reports (2 points per report), named in police incident report involving known gang member (4 points per report), possession of gang membership material (9 points), information developed during surveillance and/or surveillance (5 points), and other information (1 point).

scorecard purposes, however, the BPD counts all gang-involved shootings, including those in which the suspect and/or victim are gang members, regardless of whether the event was driven by gang motives.

Shooting scorecard data collection processes

Official crime incident reports represent the base-level information for BPD shooting scorecards. BRIC uses computerized records of BPD official reports of "Homicide by Firearm" and "Assault and Battery by Means of a Deadly Weapon—Firearm" (ABDW—Firearm) incidents. In the BPD, detectives or police officers generate incident reports after an initial response to a request for police service. In the state of Massachusetts, ABDW—Firearm incidents represent shooting events in which guns were fired and the bullets physically wounded the victims.[3] BRIC analysts carefully review the narratives of these incident reports to ensure that gunfire either fatally or nonfatally wounded victims. BRIC analysts also run victim and (if known) suspect names and dates of birth through the BPD gang database to collect preliminary information on individual gang affiliations.

BRIC collects detailed information on the nature of shooting incidents through two complementary mechanisms: (1) ongoing, near real-time reviews of recent incidents, and (2) formal quarterly reviews of all shooting incidents that occur during that period. Every weekday, BRIC holds a mid-morning conference call to collect intelligence on significant crimes from the previous 24 hours. Monday conference calls review all significant crime incidents from the previous weekend. Conference call participants include patrol and detective supervisors from BPD district stations and specialized units; statewide agencies, such as Massachusetts State Police, probation, and parole; and representatives from police departments in surrounding towns. The participants immediately review fatal and nonfatal shooting incidents, and involved supervisors share information on the victims, suspects, and preliminary circumstances (gang violence, drug-related violence, personal disputes, etc.) of the event from the initial investigation. BRIC records and enters these data into its shooting database.

3. See Massachusetts General Laws, chapter 265, section 15A.

The intelligence collected during the conference calls represents the best available short-term information on the nature of shooting events. While these data are critical for monitoring and responding to immediate outbursts of gang violence, the BPD recognizes that intelligence can evolve as investigations move forward. For instance, a preliminary investigation of a particular shooting may suggest that it was part of an ongoing dispute between rival gangs. However, as BPD interviews more witnesses and develops a stronger knowledge base, intelligence about the motives and the involvement of particular groups in the shooting may change. Upon closer inspection, what intelligence initially reported as a retaliatory gang shooting may turn out to be an internal gang dispute, a robbery of a gang member by a nongang member, a personal argument not related to gang dynamics, or some other motive. As such, intelligence gathered on all shootings undergoes a second round of formal review to capture new information that might not have been available during the first 24 hours of investigation.

BRIC convenes separate quarterly shooting review meetings for the five policing districts (B-2, B-3, C-11, D-4, and E-13) that experience the bulk of gun violence in Boston and one quarterly shooting review meeting for the remaining policing districts. Harvard researchers attend the meetings and support BRIC in collecting, coding, entering, and analyzing the qualitative insights on the nature of each shooting event. For each district meeting, detectives and officers with detailed knowledge on gangs and gang violence problems attend, including district detectives, plainclothes Anti-Crime Unit district officers, Drug Control Unit detectives and officers, Homicide Unit detectives, Special Investigations Unit detectives, and YVSF detectives and officers. In each quarterly meeting, BRIC detectives and civilian analysts present the objective characteristics of each shooting event (date, location, victim information, and the available suspect information) and the available gang intelligence on the event based on their computerized data systems.

The meeting participants share their working knowledge on the circumstances of the shooting event, the relationships between victims and suspects, and, if the event involved gang members, the details on the gangs involved in the shooting. As mentioned earlier, the insights shared by the officers represent the best available information on the circumstances of the shooting incident. This does not mean that the information is necessarily strong enough to meet the probable cause standard for making an arrest in an unsolved shooting incident. Rather, the information represents the strongest street

intelligence on which group was responsible for the shooting and why it may have committed the shooting. BRIC shooting database includes these data and updates them when the review meetings reveal new information.[4]

Operational uses of gang shooting scorecards in Boston

## Analytical insights and decision making support

At their most basic level, the data collected via the shooting incident reviews are highly valuable in examining the share of gun violence generated by gangs and gang members. For instance, Figure 1 shows that gang-related violence, mostly involving cycles of retaliatory violence between two groups, accounted for 57 percent of shootings in 2010. Drug-related motives, such as drug-market disputes and drug robberies, accounted for 16 percent of shootings. Personal disputes, emanating from ongoing conflicts or sudden arguments between individuals, represented 13 percent of shootings.

Beyond generating a high level of shootings from gang-related disputes, gang members are also disproportionately involved in gun violence related to other motives. Figure 1 on page 19 reveals that gang members were involved as victims, offenders, or both in 22 percent of the drug-motivated, 53 percent of the personal dispute, 33 percent of the street robbery, 40 percent of the domestic, and 40 percent of the self-inflicted shooting victimizations.[5] These data clearly indicate that gangs are central actors in a varied range of shootings in Boston. Thus, prevention, intervention, and enforcement resources should center on these groups of high-risk individuals to reduce the citywide level of street gun violence.

---

4. It is important to note that the BPD Homicide Unit and Harvard researchers also collaborate on a yearly review of all homicide incidents in Boston. Harvard researchers interview the sergeant detectives and detectives from each squad on the circumstances of all homicides they investigated during the past calendar year. The BRIC shooting database also includes intelligence on the nature of gun homicides collected from this exercise.

5. "Self-inflicted" shooting victimizations typically do not involve emotionally distraught individuals who were not successful in a suicide attempt. Investigators believe most of these shootings to be botched attempts at committing a violent crime and/or due to unsafe handling of a firearm. For instance, one of these shooting events involved a well-known gang member who was interviewed in a hospital emergency room with a bullet hole inside his pant-leg pocket and gunshot residue on his hands. Presumably, this gang member had accidently shot himself in the leg when reaching for his gun.

Figure 1. 2010 Boston shootings: motives and gang member involvement, N=264
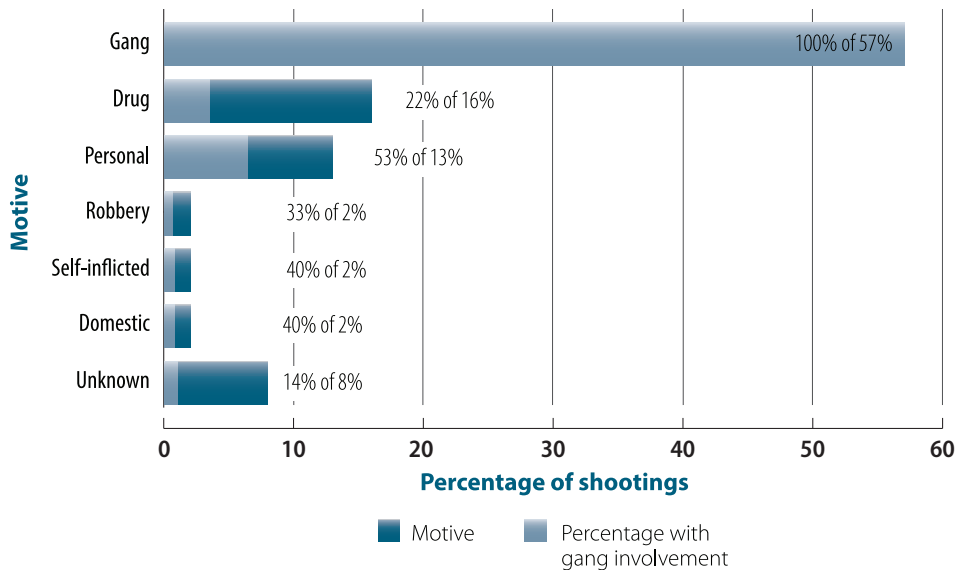
Source: Data from BPD scorecard

However, the creation of shooting scorecards to support decision making is the key analytical use of the shooting incident review data. The BPD uses the data collected from the shooting reviews to create simple frequency distributions of the number of shootings offending gangs generate and the number of shootings victimized gangs experience. For instance, figure 2 on page 20 shows that the Mozart gang committed 16 shootings, making it by far the most active shooter group in Boston during 2010. In order, the next most frequent shooter groups in Boston were the Thetford (12 shootings), Wendover (nine shootings), and Cameron (seven shootings) gangs.

**Figure 2.** Boston gangs that generated the most shootings in 2010
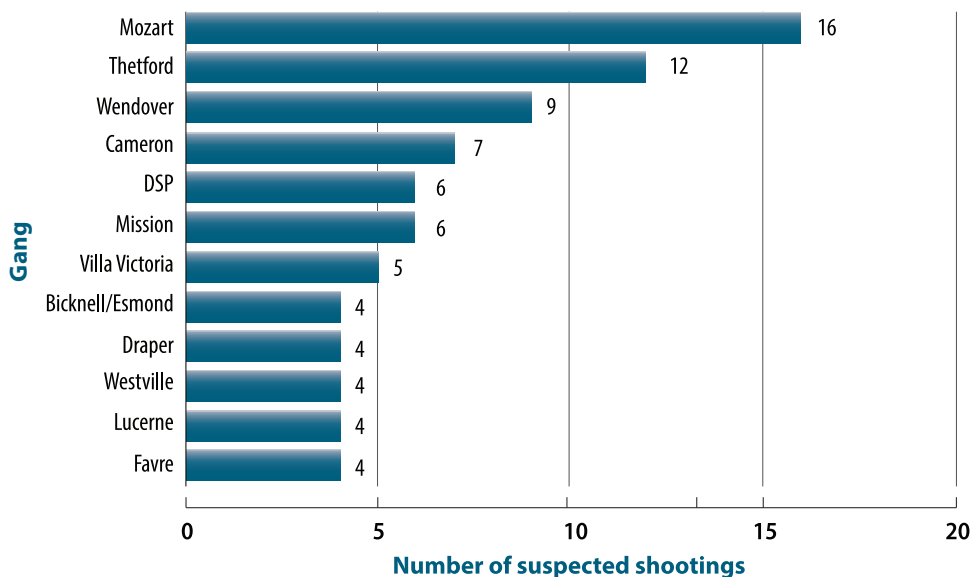
Source: Data from BPD scorecard

The key analytical insight is clear. Law enforcement should closely review these top shooter groups, relative to other gangs in Boston, to determine whether focused enforcement attention is necessary to halt their persistent involvement in serious gun violence.[6] While these high counts of shootings suggest an immediate enforcement response, law enforcement decision makers should have a multi-stakeholder meeting to interpret and discuss these data further. These stakeholders should also tailor an appropriate response to a selected group from a growing menu of intervention options that could include enforcement, social service and opportunity provision, and community moral engagement (see Crandall and Wong 2012).

---

6. As a result of the Mozart gang's status as the top shooter group, during late-October and early-November 2010, the BPD, U.S. Attorney's Office, and other law enforcement partners launched an immediate short-term enforcement response that resulted in the arrest of 11 Mozart gang members on gun possession and drug trafficking charges. To curtail retaliatory gun violence, the FBI and BPD spearheaded and launched in early 2011 a longer term investigation of drug selling by violent gangsters from the Boylston gang. Completed on July 9, 2012, some 15 Boylston Street gang members were arrested on federal and state gun and drug charges. Ceasefire communications to other gangs included the results of these enforcement actions to deter them from engaging in gun violence.

It is also important to monitor the shooting victimizations suffered by gangs. Because a bulk of gang violence in Boston is retaliatory in nature, these victimized gangs represent the groups who are highly likely to commit future shootings. In figure 3, the Boylston Street gang suffered the largest number of fatal and nonfatal shooting victimizations in 2010 with nine victims (three fatal and six nonfatal shootings). Most of these shootings were generated by the Mozart gang—Boylston's bitter rival and the number one shooter group in 2010.

Figure 3. Boston gangs that experienced the most fatal and nonfatal shooting victimizations in 2010
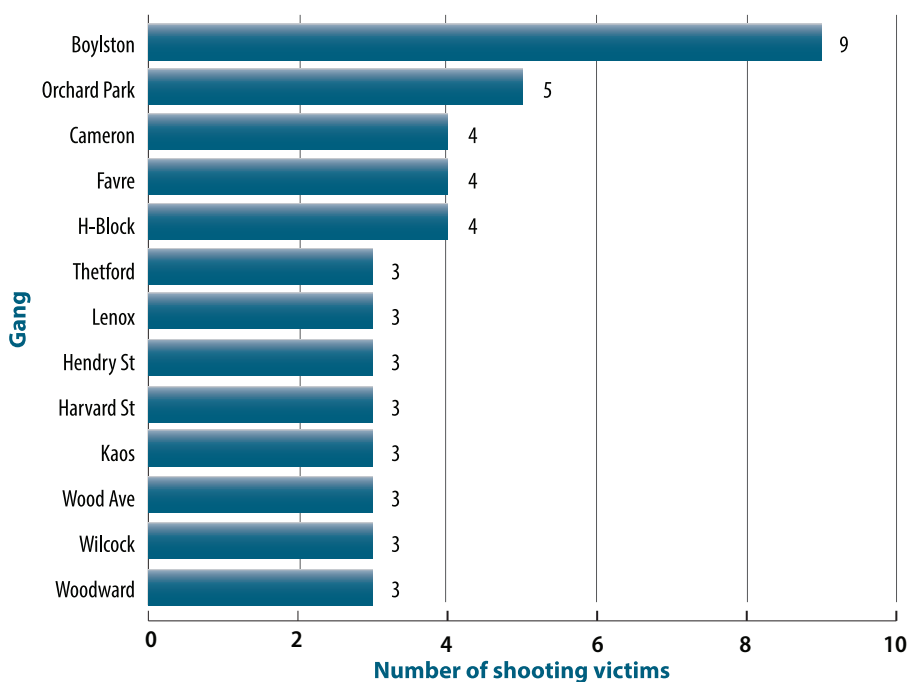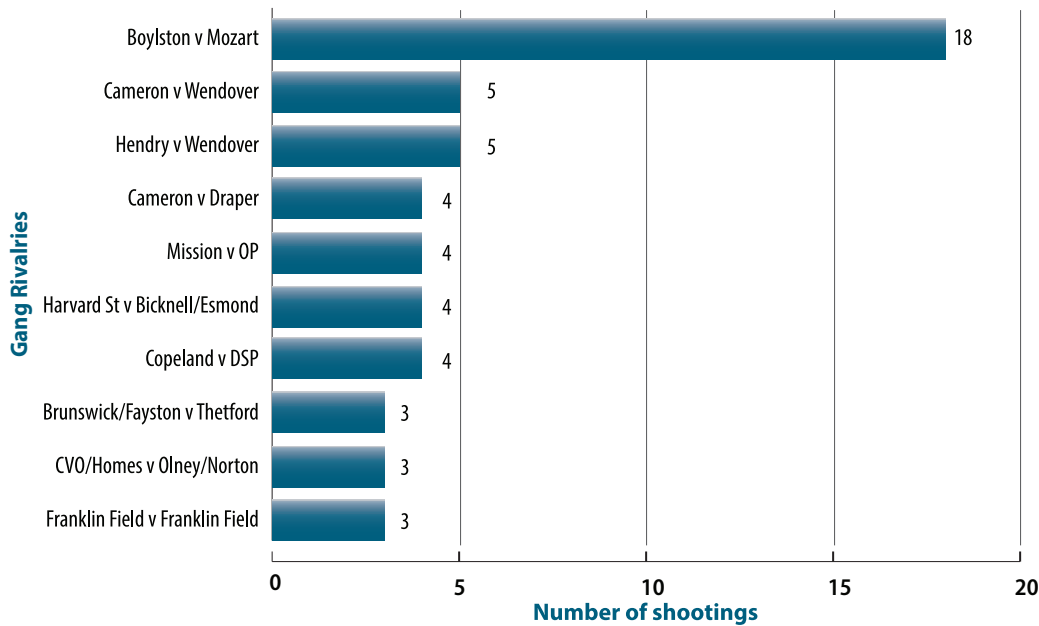

Source: Data from BPD scorecard

Another method the BPD uses to understand the concentration of shootings among specific gangs involves examining the distribution of shootings associated with ongoing rivalries between two gangs. This ensures that gangs on both sides of a violent rivalry receive adequate enforcement attention.

As figure 4 suggests, the Mozart-Boylston gang conflict was the most violent in 2010 with 18 shootings between the two groups. It is also important to note that two gangs were involved in active rivalries with multiple groups. The Wendover gang was involved in ongoing conflicts with the Cameron Street gang and the Hendry Street gang that generated five shootings each. In addition to its rivalry with Wendover, Cameron Street was also involved in an active dispute with Draper Street that generated four shootings. Gangs with multiple active violent disputes make particularly good targets for focused enforcement interventions, as they could disrupt several ongoing cycles of retaliatory violence at the same time.

Figure 4. Boston gang rivalries that generated the most shootings in 2010
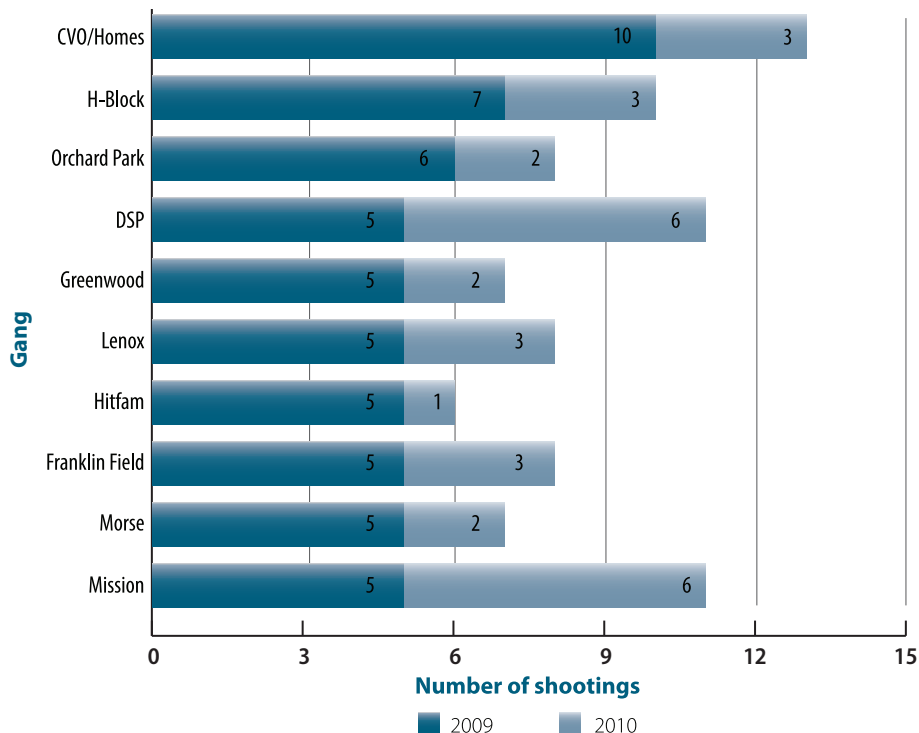

Source: Data from BPD scorecard

Performance Measurement

The BPD also uses gang scorecards to determine whether implemented violence interventions are producing the desired effects. The department can use gang scorecard data to measure either performance by simply comparing year-to-year counts of shootings committed by particular groups or more complex analyses of longitudinal data.

For example, in figure 5 the number of shootings committed by the CVO / Homes Ave, H-Block, Orchard Park, Greenwood, Lenox, Hitfam, Morse, and Franklin Field gangs decreased between 2009 and 2010. While any implemented violence intervention clearly warrants more careful evaluation, this simple year-to-year comparison suggests that shootings committed by these gangs were in short-term decline.

In contrast, shootings by the DSP and Mission gangs increased between 2009 and 2010. This suggests that BPD needed to reassess existing violence interventions focused on these groups; alternatively, if BPD wasn't focusing violence interventions directly on these groups, it needed to implement a strategic response immediately.

Figure 5. Number of shootings the 2009 most frequent shooter gangs committed in 2010

Source: Data from BPD scorecard

Data collected as part of the BRIC shooting reviews can also measure the performance of other problem-oriented policing interventions designed to address high-risk situations that generate shootings of gang members and other young people in Boston. For instance, shootings at crowded after-hours house parties involving young people represent an ongoing challenge for the BPD. Gun violence often stems from personal disputes involving intoxicated young men and encounters between rival gang members in these disorderly settings. These violent events tend to produce multiple shooting victims as bullets fired in a relatively small, densely crowded area are more likely to hit both intended and unintended targets. In 2008, data collected from the BRIC shooting reviews suggested that shootings at after-hours house parties accounted for 36 victims.

In response to these high-risk situations, the BRIC analysts and detectives increased their monitoring of social media websites on the Internet to identify the times and locations of these parties before they happened. The BRIC team then disseminated intelligence on identified after-hours house parties to district captains who directed their patrol officers to shut down these events before any violence could occur. By 2011, BRIC shooting review data revealed that the number of victims shot at after-hours house parties decreased by nearly 56 percent to 16 victims.

Law enforcement can also use gang shooting scorecard data to conduct more rigorous analyses of the impacts of focused deterrence strategies, or other gang violence interventions, on particular gangs over extended time periods. Program evaluators can readily use these data to examine shootings by and against particular gangs over appropriate time series intervals, such as days, months, quarters, or years. A recent evaluation of the post-2007 Operation Ceasefire intervention relied upon gang scorecard data to estimate program impacts on the gun violence behaviors of targeted street gangs (see Braga et al. 2013). Between 2007 and 2010, the BPD and its criminal justice, social service, and community-based partners conducted Ceasefire interventions for 19 violent gangs. A rigorous quasi-experimental evaluation estimated that the re-invigorated Ceasefire focused deterrence strategy generated a statistically significant 31 percent reduction in shootings involving treated gangs relative to shootings involving matched comparison gangs.

Figure 6 on page 25 illustrates the use of gang scorecard data to evaluate the impact of Ceasefire on a particularly violent Boston street gang. The Lucerne Street Doggz was the first group to receive renewed Ceasefire attention because it was the most violent gang in Boston at the beginning of the study time period (Braga et al. 2013). The

Doggz was a loosely organized gang based in the disadvantaged Lucerne Street area of the Mattapan section of Boston (District B-3). In 2006, the Lucerne gang had roughly 50 members and was involved in violent disputes with eight rival gangs—Big Head Boys, Morse Street, Norfolk, Greenwood, Heath Street, Orchard Park, H-Block, and Winston Road. Lucerne was the suspect group in 30 gang-involved shootings and the victim group in seven gang-involved shootings in 2006. BRIC intelligence suggested that no more than six or seven members of the gang carried out most of the Lucerne shootings, which accounted for nearly 10 percent of all Boston shootings in 2006.

Figure 6. Shootings involving the Lucerne Street Doggz, 2006–2010
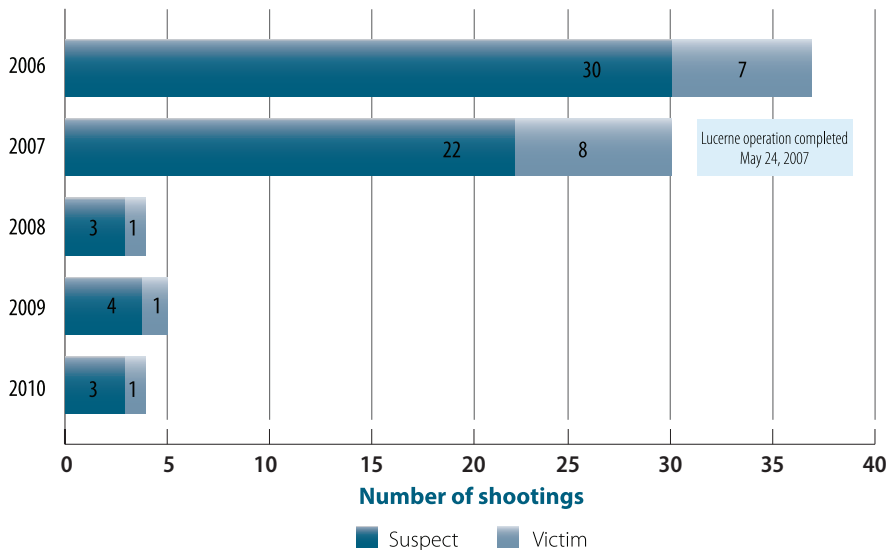
Source: Courtesy of Braga, Hureau, and Papachristos 2013, 21.

As described in the first section of this chapter, in December 2006, newly appointed Commissioner Davis mandated that Ceasefire be the BPD's marquee response to ongoing gang violence. In January 2007, then Deputy Superintendent Gary French, whom Davis charged to coordinate the citywide implementation of Ceasefire, started regular meetings of the interagency Operation Ceasefire working group. It was critical to establish the credibility of the Ceasefire anti-violence message on the streets of Boston again.

As Braga and colleagues (2013) describe, the Lucerne gang had been subjected to an earlier Group Violence Intervention call-in[7] but continued on its violent path. As such, the Ceasefire working group needed to make good on the promise that a strong enforcement response would soon follow. With the support of the Drug Control Unit and District B-3 personnel, the YVSF worked with the U.S. Attorney's Office; the Suffolk County District Attorney's Office; the Drug Enforcement Administration; and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives in a focused investigation of the Lucerne Street Doggz. On May 24, 2007, law enforcement took 25 Lucerne Street gang members into custody and charged with federal and state drug and firearms offenses.

As figure 6 on page 25 reveals, the impact of the Ceasefire intervention on the gang's gun violence behavior was noteworthy. In 2006 and 2007, the Lucerne gang averaged 33.5 total shootings per year. Their yearly average plummeted by 87.2 percent to 4.3 per year between 2008 and 2010.

---

7. The call-in is a Group Violence Intervention meeting during which a partnership of law enforcement, community members, and social service providers delivers a no-violence message to group members and, through them, back to their associates (see NNSC 2013).

Conclusion

The Boston experience suggests that jurisdictions implementing the Group Violence Intervention can use the shooting scorecard process to good effect in developing a deeper understanding of the underlying dynamics associated with urban gun violence problems, focusing scarce intervention resources on the groups most central to recurring gun violence, and measuring the impacts of the strategy. Shooting scorecards aid the Boston Police Department in institutionalizing its Operation Ceasefire focused deterrence strategy by providing a mechanism to hold appropriate personnel accountable for addressing the most violent gangs in Boston and ensuring that desirable gun violence reduction effects are achieved. A growing body of literature suggests that it is important to make conscious efforts to sustain, and establish accountability for and within, focused deterrence initiatives.

Jurisdictions interested in implementing focused deterrence strategies need to understand how to keep these programs on track for the long term. Beyond the 2000 cessation of Ceasefire in Boston (see "The Boston Experience" on page 13), replication programs in Baltimore and Minneapolis unraveled rapidly after some encouraging initial crime control success stories (see Kennedy 2011). The Cincinnati Initiative to Reduce Violence, however, has been able to institutionalize and sustain its focused deterrence interventions through the establishment of a comprehensive organizational structure and a governing board (Engel et al. 2010).
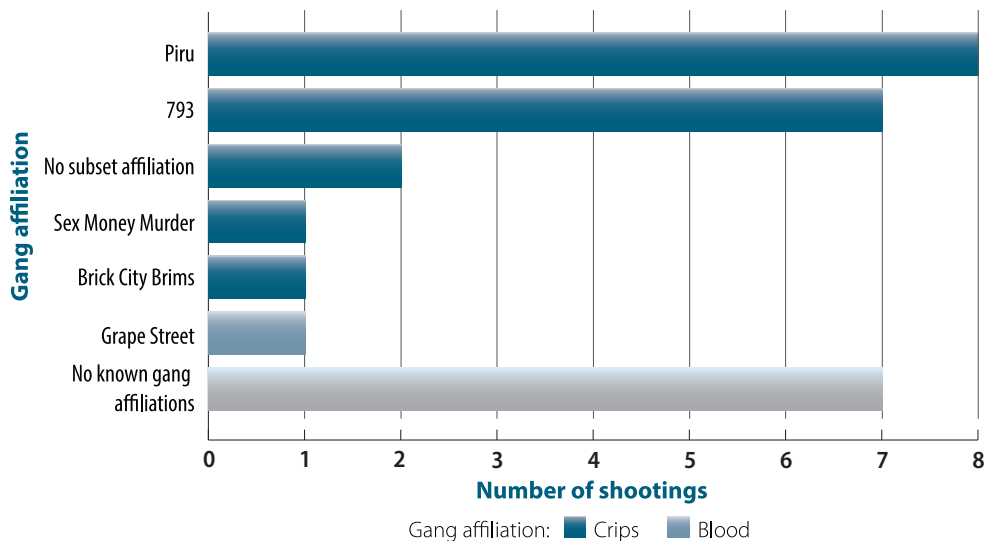
Criminally active groups and group violence problems can be complex and vary considerably across cities. As such, police departments need to tailor shooting scorecards to local conditions. For example, the Newark (New Jersey) Police Department (NPD) recently adopted the shooting scorecard process to guide the implementation of its Newark Violence Reduction Initiative (NVRI) focused deterrence strategy. Newark has large gangs comprised of multiple sets spread throughout the city. While rival gangs do participate in ongoing feuds, Newark gangs experience a considerable amount of internal gang violence and are involved in drug disputes at particular drug market locations.

For instance, in 2012, Blood gangs were the victims in 97 fatal and nonfatal shootings in Newark. The subsets called "793 Bloods" were the most victimized Blood sets, with 30 shooting victimizations. However, these victimizations were spread across 793 Blood subsets frequenting locations in 11 of the NPD's 29 shooting sectors. Suspect gangs in these shootings included Brick City Brims, Red Breed Gorillas, Grape Street Crips, Sex

Money Murder, and other 793 Bloods (via internal disputes often involving drugs). Due to these variations, NPD shooting scorecards are often disaggregated to specific sectors with victim counts organized by gang affiliations (see figure 7).

Figure 7. Newark shooting victims' gang affiliations, 2012

Source: Data from NPD scorecard

Shooting scorecard processes are designed for collecting and analyzing information on the gun violence behaviors of the criminally active groups that generate consistent numbers of shootings, such as gangs, drug selling organizations of varying sizes, and street robbery crews. While the Boston and Newark examples described here involved gangs, police departments in other cities will need to tailor their shooting scorecards to local group characteristics and dynamics.

When violence prevention and public safety are concerned, whether a criminally active group meets some formal definition of a gang is not the most pressing matter. The most important observations are that gun violence problems are usually concentrated among groups of chronic offenders and the dynamics between and within these groups (Braga et al. 2002; Kennedy 2008). This is an old observation in criminology and well known among line-level law enforcement personnel. Shooting scorecards offer a way of properly diagnosing the group conflicts that generate persistent gun violence and ensuring that violence interventions appropriately focus on these high-risk groups.

References

Bittner, Egon. 1970. *The Functions of the Police in Modern Society*. New York: Aronson.

Black, Donald. 1970. "The Production of Crime Rates." *American Sociological Review* 35:733–748.

Blumstein, Alfred. 1995. "Youth Violence, Guns, and the Illicit-Drug Industry." *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 86:10–36.

Braga, Anthony A. 2003. "Serious Youth Gun Offenders and the Epidemic of Youth Violence in Boston." *Journal of Quantitative Criminology* 19:33–54.

———. 2004. *Gun Violence* among *Serious Young Offenders*. Problem-Oriented Guides for Police, Problem-Specific Guide Series, No. 23. Washington, DC: Office of Community Oriented Policing Services.

———. 2008. *Problem-Oriented Policing and Crime Prevention*. 2nd ed. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

———. 2012. "Getting Deterrence Right? Evaluation Evidence and Complementary Crime Control Mechanisms." *Criminology & Public Policy* 11:201–210.

Braga, Anthony A., Lorraine A. Green, David L. Weisburd, and Francis Gajewski. 1994. "Police Perceptions of Street Level Narcotics Activity: Evaluating Drug Buys as a Research Tool." *American Journal of Police* 13:37–58.

Braga, Anthony A., David M. Hureau, and Andrew V. Papachristos. 2013. "Deterring Gang-Involved Gun Violence: Measuring the Impact of Boston's Operation Ceasefire on Street Gang Behavior." *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*. doi: 10.1007/s10940-013-9198-x.

Braga, Anthony A., David M. Hureau, and Christopher Winship. 2008. "Losing Faith? Police, Black Churches, and the Resurgence of Youth Violence in Boston." *Ohio State Journal of Criminal Law* 6:141–172.

Braga, Anthony A., David M. Kennedy, and George Tita. 2002. "New Approaches to the Strategic Prevention of Gang and Group-Involved Violence." In *Gangs in America*. 3rd ed. Edited by C. Ronald Huff. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Braga, Anthony A., David M. Kennedy, Elin J. Waring, and Anne M. Piehl. 2001. "Problem-Oriented Policing, Deterrence, and Youth Violence: An Evaluation of Boston's Operation Ceasefire." *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* 38:195–225.

Braga, Anthony A., Andrew V. Papachristos, and David M. Hureau. 2010. "The Concentration and Stability of Gun Violence at Micro Places in Boston, 1980–2008." *Journal of Quantitative Criminology* 26:33–53.

Braga, Anthony A., Anne M. Piehl, and David M. Kennedy. 1999. "Youth Homicide in Boston: An Assessment of Supplementary Homicide Reports." *Homicide Studies* 3:277–299.

Braga, Anthony A., Glenn L. Pierce, Jack McDevitt, Brenda J. Bond, and Shea Cronin. 2008. "The Strategic Prevention of Gun Violence among Gang-Involved Offenders." *Justice Quarterly* 25:132–162.

Braga, Anthony A., and David L. Weisburd. 2012. "The Effects of Focused Deterrence Strategies on Crime: A Systematic Review and Meta-Analysis of the Empirical Evidence." *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* 49:323–358.

Braga, Anthony A., and Christopher Winship. 2006. "Partnership, Accountability, and Innovation: Clarifying Boston's Experience with Pulling Levers." In *Police Innovation: Contrasting Perspectives*. Edited by David L. Weisburd and Anthony A. Braga. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Cohen, Jacqueline, and Jens Ludwig. 2003. "Policing Crime Guns." In *Evaluating Gun Policy: Effects on Crime and Violence*. Edited by Jens Judwig and Philip J. Cook. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.

Cook, Philip J., and John Laub. 2002. "After the Epidemic: Recent Trends in Youth Violence in the United States." Vol. 29 of Crime and Justice: A Review of Research. Edited by Michael Tonry. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Crandall, Vaughn, and Sue-Lin Wong. 2012. *Practice Brief: Call-In Preparation and Execution*. Group Violence Reduction Strategy. Washington, DC: Office of Community Oriented Policing Services. http://ric-zai-inc.com/ric.php?page=detail&id=COPS-P243.

Curry, G. David, Richard Ball, and Robert Fox. 1994. *Gang Crime and Law Enforcement Record Keeping*. Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice.

Decker, Scott H. 2003. "Policing Gangs and Youth Violence: Where Do We Stand, Where Do We Go From Here?" *Policing Gangs and Youth Violence*. Edited by Scott H. Decker. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company.

Decker, Scott H., and David C. Pyrooz. 2010. "On the Validity and Reliability of Gang Homicide: A Comparison of Disparate Sources." *Homicide Studies* 14:359–76.

Engel, Robin S., Nicholas Corsaro, and Marie Skubak Tillyer. 2010. *Evaluation of the Cincinnati Initiative to Reduce Violence (CIRV)*. Cincinnati, OH: University of Cincinnati Policing Institute.

Goldstein, Herman. 1990. *Problem-Oriented Policing*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Heinrich, Theodore B., and Anthony A. Braga. 2010. "Focused Deterrence and Norm Changing Strategies: The Problem of Sustainability." Working paper. New York: National Network for Safe Communities.

Katz, Charles M., Vincent J. Webb, and David R. Schaefer. 2000. "The Validity of Police Gang Intelligence Lists: Examining the Differences in Delinquency between Documented Gang Members and Nondocumented Delinquent Youth." *Police Quarterly* 3:413–37.

Kennedy, David M. 1997. "Pulling Levers: Chronic Offenders, High-Crime Settings, and a Theory of Prevention. *Valparaiso University Law Review* 31:449–484.

———. 2008. *Deterrence and Crime Prevention: Reconsidering the Prospect of Sanction*. London: Routledge.

———. 2011. *Don't Shoot*. New York: Bloomsbury.

Kennedy, David M., Anthony A. Braga, and Anne M. Piehl. 1997. "The (Un)Known Universe: Mapping Gangs and Gang Violence in Boston." In *Crime Mapping and Crime Prevention*. Edited by David L. Weisburd and J. Thomas McEwen. Vol. 8 of Crime Prevention Studies, edited by Ronald V. Clarke. Monsey, NY: Criminal Justice Press.

Kennedy, David M., Anne M. Piehl, and Anthony A. Braga. 1996. "Youth Violence in Boston: Gun Markets, Serious Youth Offenders, and a Use-Reduction Strategy." *Law and Contemporary Problems* 59:147–196.

Klofas, John, and Natalie K. Hipple. 2006. "Project Safe Neighborhoods: Strategic Interventions." *Crime Incident Reviews: Case Study 3*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice.

Maxson, Cheryl, and Malcolm Klein. 1990. "Street Gang Violence: Twice as Great, or Half as Great?" In *Gangs in America*. Edited by C. Ronald Huff. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

McDonald, Phyllis. 2002. M*anaging Police Operations: Implementing the New York Crime Control Model—Compstat*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

McGarrell, Edmund F., Steven Chermak, Alexander Weiss, and Jeremy Wilson. 2001. "Reducing Firearms Violence through Directed Police Patrol." *Criminology & Public Policy* 1:119–148.

Moore, Mark H. 2003. "Sizing up Compstat: An Important Administrative Innovation in Policing." *Criminology & Public Policy* 2:469–494.

Moore, Mark H., and Anthony A. Braga. 2003. "Measuring and Improving Police Performance: The Lessons of Compstat and Its Progeny." *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies and Management* 26:439–453.

NNSC (National Network for Safe Communities). 2013. *Group Violence Intervention: An Implementation Guide*. Washington, DC: Office of Community Oriented Policing Services. http://ric-zai-inc.com/ric.php?page=detail&id=COPS-P280.

Schneider, Victoria W., and Brian Wiersema. 1990. "Limits and Use of Uniform Crime Reports." In *Measuring Crime*. Edited by Doris L. MacKenzie, Phyllis J. Baunach, and Roy R. Roberg. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Sherman, Lawrence, and Dennis Rogan. 1995. "Effects of Gun Seizures on Gun Violence: 'Hot Spots' Patrol in Kansas City." *Justice Quarterly* 12:673–694.

Silverman, Eli B. 1999. *NYPD Battles Crime: Innovative Strategies in Policing*. Boston: Northeastern University Press.

Weisburd, David L., and Cynthia Lum. 2005. "The Diffusion of Computerized Crime Mapping Policing: Linking Research and Practice." *Police Practice and Research* 6:433–448.

Weisburd, David L., Stephen Mastrofski, Anne Marie McNally, Roseann Greenspan, and James J. Willis. 2003. "Reforming to Preserve: Compstat and Strategic Problem Solving in American Policing." *Criminology & Public Policy* 2:421–456.

Zimring, Franklin E. 1968. "Is Gun Control Likely to Reduce Violent Killings?" *University of Chicago Law Review* 35:21–37.

———. 1972. "The Medium Is the Message: Firearm Caliber as a Determinant of Death from Assault." *Journal of Legal Studies* 1:97–123.

About the Authors

Anthony A. Braga, Rutgers University and Harvard University

Anthony A. Braga is the Don M. Gottfredson Professor of Evidence-Based Criminology in the School of Criminal Justice at Rutgers University and a senior research fellow in the Program in Criminal Justice Policy and Management at Harvard University. His research involves collaborating with criminal justice, social service, and community-based organizations to address illegal access to firearms, reduce gang and group-involved violence, and control crime hot spots. He is currently the president and an elected fellow of the Academy of Experimental Criminology.

David M. Hureau, Harvard University

David M. Hureau is a doctoral student in Sociology and Social Policy at Harvard University and also serves as a research fellow at Harvard Kennedy School's Program in Criminal Justice Policy and Management. He is broadly interested in urban sociology and crime. His present research project is an ethnographic exploration of a network of individuals who have experienced disproportionate exposure to homicide.

Leigh S. Grossman, Rutgers University

Leigh S. Grossman is a doctoral student in Criminal Justice at Rutgers University. She is also the director of field research for the Newark Violence Reduction Initiative and the data and research analyst at the National Network for Safe Communities. Her research interests include social network analysis and serious gun violence. She is currently working on her dissertation, which is an exploratory analysis of the theoretical determinants of violent crime concentrations at specific street segments in Newark, New Jersey.

About the National Network for Safe Communities

The National Network for Safe Communities represents and supports jurisdictions around the country and internationally to apply and advance proven strategies to reduce serious violent crime and to close overt drug markets.

The National Network recognizes that both law enforcement and the community must play a critical role in addressing these problems—but that neither can do it alone. Therefore, its strategies combine the best of law enforcement and community crime prevention approaches to improve public safety dramatically.

Launched as a project of the Center for Crime Prevention and Control at John Jay College of Criminal Justice in New York in 2009, the National Network currently comprises more than 60 jurisdictions actively implementing and advancing two specific strategies: the Group Violence Intervention (GVI), first implemented as Operation Ceasefire in Boston in the mid-1990s, and the Drug Market Intervention (DMI), also known as the "High Point Model," after the North Carolina city that pioneered it. These strategies are carefully designed to produce specific results:

- Reduce serious violence
- Shut down overt drug markets
- Reduce arrests and imprisonment
- Strengthen disadvantaged communities
- Operate entirely or largely within existing resources

Different jurisdictions use the National Network's approach under different titles, and yet each is applying GVI principles, contributing to its effectiveness and innovation. Some current marquee efforts that use the GVI framework with technical assistance from National Network include the Chicago Violence Reduction Strategy; Newark Violence Reduction Initiative in New Jersey; Project Longevity, which includes New Haven, Hartford, and Bridgeport, Connecticut; NOLA for Life in New Orleans, Louisiana; and Don't Shoot Peoria in Illinois.

The National Network is committed to saving lives and saving communities by taking its strategies to a national scale and serving the nation's most vulnerable areas. The National Network is designed to represent and support its members, offering them technical

assistance, recognizing and helping others learn from their work and innovations, supporting peer exchange and education, conducting research and evaluations, and raising the visibility of their work.

Please visit www.nnscommunities.org for detailed information on the National Network's mission, strategies, research findings, media coverage, events, and membership.

About the COPS Office

The Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS Office) is the component of the U.S. Department of Justice responsible for advancing the practice of community policing by the nation's state, local, territory, and tribal law enforcement agencies through information and grant resources.

Community policing is a philosophy that promotes organizational strategies that support the systematic use of partnerships and problem-solving techniques, to proactively address the immediate conditions that give rise to public safety issues such as crime, social disorder, and fear of crime.

Rather than simply responding to crimes once they have been committed, community policing concentrates on preventing crime and eliminating the atmosphere of fear it creates. Earning the trust of the community and making those individuals stakeholders in their own safety enables law enforcement to better understand and address both the needs of the community and the factors that contribute to crime.

The COPS Office awards grants to state, local, territory, and tribal law enforcement agencies to hire and train community policing professionals, acquire and deploy cutting-edge crime fighting technologies, and develop and test innovative policing strategies. COPS Office funding also provides training and technical assistance to community members and local government leaders and all levels of law enforcement. The COPS Office has produced and compiled a broad range of information resources that can help law enforcement better address specific crime and operational issues, and help community leaders better understand how to work cooperatively with their law enforcement agency to reduce crime.

- Since 1994, the COPS Office has invested more than $14 billion to add community policing officers to the nation's streets, enhance crime fighting technology, support crime prevention initiatives, and provide training and technical assistance to help advance community policing.
- To date, the COPS Office has funded approximately 125,000 additional officers to more than 13,000 of the nation's 18,000 law enforcement agencies across the country in small and large jurisdictions alike.
- Nearly 700,000 law enforcement personnel, community members, and government leaders have been trained through COPS Office-funded training organizations.
- To date, the COPS Office has distributed more than 8.57 million topic-specific publications, training curricula, white papers, and resource CDs.

COPS Office resources, covering a wide breadth of community policing topics—from school and campus safety to gang violence—are available, at no cost, through its online Resource Center at www.cops.usdoj.gov. This easy-to-navigate website is also the grant application portal, providing access to online application forms.

Group shooting scorecards identify the criminal groups that commit the highest number shootings and experience the greatest number of shooting victimizations during a specific time period. With this information, shooting scorecards support the implementation of focused deterrence strategies to prevent group-involved violence. They also ensure that police departments appropriately focus scarce resources on the groups that consistently generate the most gun violence. The most violent groups then receive systematic considered for focused interventions, such as the National Network for Safe Communities' Group Violence Intervention in which a partnership of community members, law enforcement, and social service providers delivers a "no violence" message, information about legal consequences for further violence, and an offer of help.

Managing the Group Violence Intervention: Using Shooting Scorecards to Track Group Violence begins with a brief description of the shooting scorecard concept and its links to problem analysis and performance measurement systems in police departments. It then presents the key steps in the process and associated data quality issues and then details the use of shooting scorecards by the Boston Police Department as an example of the practical applications of this approach.

This publication is part of a series by the National Network for Safe Communities about its two crime reduction strategies: the Group Violenc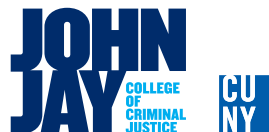e Intervention and the Drug Market Intervention.